September, 1925 25 Cents

Labor Age

The National Monthly

Across America

A Workers Education Pilgrimage

"Popular" vs. Public Ownership

A "Kindergarten" Grows Up

100 Years of the "Iron Horse"

The Calamity in Coal

Brother Brown on Crime Commission

VOL. XIV—No. 7 SEPTEMBER, 1925

$2.50 per Year

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The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

Co-operatively Owned and Published by a Group of International, State and Local Unions

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc. 3 West 16th Street, New York City

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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WORKERS' EDUCATION AND WORKERS' CONTROL

A Job to Which We Are Dedicated

AT the head of this page appears the standard: "Believing that the goal of the American Labor Movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control."

That standard has appeared at our masthead for the last four years, ever since we began our work as a composite picture of the Labor Movement. A somewhat similar statement was adopted by the American Federation at its Portland convention—though the further definition of its "Industrial Democracy" program remains for the future.

The Miners have stood for years for the same idea, in their frequent declarations for nationalization of their industry, with workers' control. The Railwaymen endorsed "Industrial Democracy" in the Plumb Plan, almost sure to be vigorously revived in face of railroad consolidation. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have proclaimed it—and the A. F. of L. has supported their proclamation—in demanding public ownership of the Giant Power now coming upon us, with workers' participation in management.

In carrying out the bigger demands of the Industrial Democracy of the morrow, Labor must educate itself to the task of understanding its industries. It must dedicate itself, in an intelligent way, to the battle of the present and to the objective of the future. Hence, Workers' Education.

Not only are the organized workers today called upon to study their industries with a view to bettering their conditions and getting a wider interest in management, but they have also the equally important job of meeting the camouflage of the employers. Those magic words, "Industrial Democracy" and "Public Ownership," appear everywhere in the Employing Interests' propaganda. It is up to the workers to be able to tell their unorganized brothers what bunk these words contain as uttered by the employers, and to familiarize them with real "Industrial Democracy" and real "Public Ownership." Hence, again, Workers' Education.

We wish to call your attention to the articles appearing in this issue on this subject. Brother Golden testifies to the great value of the educational movement—yet in its infancy—particularly in the shop economics classes of the textile unions and the education-in-industry of the Miners. These grapplings with industrial facts and everyday problems equip the workers with the weapons that keep up

(*Continued on page* 23)

Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March* 3, 1879.

Labor Age
The National Monthly

What Came of a "Kindergarten"

A Remarkable Story of the Value of Workers' Education

By GEORGE CREECH

A WORKERS' EDUCATION BAND
Of the Miners of District 2. Brother Creech describes an equally interesting educational effort in Philadelphia.

IT was a little house on one of the crowded streets of the Kensington district. Night after night, when the days' work was done, three weavers met there to pour over a chart, which they had prepared and to discuss its meaning and what they could do about it.

It was not a chart of any hidden treasure island, although it was full of importance to them. It was merely a picture of the growth of organization in the various upholstery mills of Philadelphia. It showed the percentage of union men in each mill—the union percentage appearing in black, the non-union in white marks on the chart.

That was in 1915, and the trade was less than 50 per cent organized at that time. There was plenty of white on the piece of oil-cloth when the meetings of the three began. As unionization gained ground, step by step, the white spots were filled in with crayon to make them dark. It was a sort of crude way of chart-making; but it filled the bill. It is interesting to note that it never occurred to the three that the black crayon would have to be rubbed out; they simply did not know such a thing as retreat. Their chart *must* show progress.

Out of the talks over this map of union advance came the thought that the members must train themselves, if they meant to make their gains permanent and of full effect in bettering conditions and getting a square deal. The first suggestion was that the union create a "kindergarten" to educate committeemen up to a point where they could handle the affairs of the organization . We had no paid officials at all, then; and our committees in the shops were imperfectly informed as to the situation in the trade, the costs of the product and many other things which they should have known to make the best of their arrangements with the employers.

The "kindergarten" idea was laughed down. At first.

"We have plenty of men to handle our affairs if there is need for it," was the argument used. The whole thing was considered a joke.

Mock Conferences with the "Employers"

It was not long until we were all to see the value of some sort of training. A few years afterwards we were to succeed in winning a joint agreement with the employers, under which the shop committees were

given the responsibility for conditions in the shops. To know how to proceed, they had to know their industry thoroughly. Education came to have a big place in their needs.

The "kindergarten" did get under way, despite the doubts of many. Mock conferences with the "employers" became part of its program. The workers would appoint one of their number as the employer, another as his manager—and then any one from the meeting would unexpectedly be chosen as a member of the conference committee for that evening. Unprepared as he would be, he would have to defend the workers' cause as best he could. You can see what the outcome of that would be after a while. In expectation of being called on, every member attending these meetings began to look into the facts and figures on the industry. They became alive, each and every one, to new points of view and new factors that they had not known existed.

The weaver can see with his own eyes, in his everyday work, what training will do. When he enters the trade he is given a loom, a "harness," warp shuttles and the filling. But that does not make a weaver of him. He will have to go much further—and learn by hard training how to make a piece of cloth that will stand the test. In the running of union business, the same rule applies. At least, so we all came to agree.

With little outside light and with no outside help, these mock conferences continued until 1920—and some time after that. It was in that year that the Labor College of Philadelphia was founded. As a progressive union, we felt that we should join—in order to help the college to function. We did not realize of what great help it would prove to us.

The Ways and Means Committee

We look back with much affection to the time when we first began to put education in our industry on our scheme of things. It was great fun to see the group of weavers watching the moves of "Employer," "Manager" and the workers' mock conference committee—each trying to outdo the other in arguments—about the condition of the trade, the amount of profits made, the amount of wages that could be "stood" by the mills at that time, etc. The Labor College was to bring in a further and better way of getting at the facts, that we needed in order to win further control and further good conditions.

The "kindergarten," it must be known, was formally known as the Ways and Means Committee. The mock conferences had only been part of its work. At its first meeting, it had decided that general meetings of the active members would be held twice a month, in addition to the regular business meetings—for purely educational purposes. A certain part of each educational forum was set aside for the discussion of certain things: A discussion of the need for uniform shop rules, what these rules should comprise, the training of members for committee work, and the question of conducting the organization itself effectively.

The Ways and Means Committee—consisting of a delegate and alternate from each of the 27 shops, the union's executive board and its conference committee—has become so definitely recognized as in charge of the union's educational work that it has been granted separate representation in the Labor College and the Workers Education Bureau of America. Its delegates, recommended by it, are elected by the union; in addition to the union's own delegates to these educational enterprises.

Shop Economics and What Came of It

With the Ways and Means Committee going on as best it could, along came the Labor College in 1920 and offered to provide us with instructors in economics and other subjects. We decided to enlarge the work of the Committee by making our conferences and other meetings into a shop economics class. We felt that the education we wanted was education in our trade itself, rather than any general education about everything and nothing in particular. As weavers, we wanted to be able to make our weavers' group as strong and as well-equipped as possible.

We did not lose our discussion method in taking up this shop economics class. Half of each evening was given to debate and argument on the weaving industry; the other half to a lecture and questioning of the instructor. The class has run each year around 35 in number. They have been faithful in attendance and the interest in the work has been great.

We wanted to get an even better grip on our job. When the Labor College suggested an extension of our educational effort, we gladly decided to open additional classes: in Public Speaking, Labor and Law, and Labor and Industry. It was only necessary to have these particular classes for one year, as it was only the very active members who took up the courses. About 46 members altogether attended the three classes. While these classes did not develop any lawyers or historians or great orators, they did equip our officers in particular to do their tasks in a much more efficient way. That, in turn, has led to a big stimulus in the membership as a whole, to im-

prove in their knowledge of these things. It is perfectly plain from what has been said here that our idea of workers education is not to take the worker out of his class and group, and make a professional man of him. The Labor Movement profits in no way by that. The mass of the workers gain nothing by it. But our idea is, to make the workers so well acquainted with their own problems that they can advance as a group.

We have not stopped with our own local efforts, it may be added. So well does the union know of the value of practical education to the union that they have decided this year to send "students" to the eight days of the labor course at Henryville, in the Pocono Mountains, and to the two weeks at Brookwood during the month of August. The Brookwood summer course has come home to us as particularly helpful, as it includes a week in the study of textiles and a week of general organization problems.

Now, why do the weavers feel so strongly the good of these practical methods of education? They have seen the good results in the good returns obtained in their own industry. During all this time, by reason of the fact that the workers have had the "goods" in regard to just what the industry could do and could not do, we have made greater gains than in any previous similar period. This has been done, without stoppage of work—in contrast to the stoppages going on constantly in times past.

Gains Won by Education

We believe that this is a record that any group might well be proud of. Grievances have been settled, the workers put on the proper basis of self-respect in dealing with the employers, and hours and wages bettered greatly—without the loss of time and money, and the friction, that was the inevitable part of "negotiations" in the years gone by. This has been the feature of 12 years of "peace"—gained not by the crushing of the workers, but by the strengthening of the hands of the workers and their continual advance.

One of the most lasting benefits out of education of this kind has been the adoption of the Uniform Shop Rules. These, to a large extent, have kept peace and harmony in the shops of the trade. Before these uniform rules come into effect, each shop had its own regulations. They were somewhat like the famous 57 varieties. A man, going from one shop to another, found himself—without knowing it—violating the rules of his new shop. This has now all been eliminated.

We are going further than this. Out of our studies has come the belief that we can progress still further by setting up an Unemployment Exchange and Out-of Work Insurance. These things are now being gone into, for the purpose of considering the advisability of having them adopted in the trade. By these means, the union is putting the industry on a stable basis—so that the workers in it will be safeguarded against the evils of out-of-work.

REAL RESULTS

BROTHER CREECH shows that Workers' Education, practically conducted, can bring Unionism real results—not merely in the future but Here and Now. The Philadelphia Labor College, to which he refers and which is based on a similar belief, owes much to the good work of E. J. Lever, its executive secretary.

Attacking Unemployment

Already, we have tackled the matter of unemployment in our shop rules. In these rules, agreed to by the employers, it is said: "When there is a general depression in the trade, all work shall be shared equally, as far as possible." These words mean almost nothing in themselves; but, with the activity of the shop committees, they have been put into effect in a fairly satisfactory way. Division of work in periods of depression does go on; but there is still room for greater improvement. Steps along this line are being taken, and further arrangements with the employers to make division of work fully effective is sure to come. No small set of workers can thus "hog" the work in bad times; it must be passed around in equal shares to all union members.

We have one regret. It is that workers' education does not reach a greater number of the union members. Out of a membership of 2,000, only about one-half of one per cent are affected directly—and less than 5 per cent through attendance at local union meetings. We still hope that the work will spread, so that we can carry the message of workers' education and its good effects into each and every shop association.

As it is, we have gained much. Not only in dollars and cents—which have been secured. But in peace and harmony while working at the trade. Our union owns its own home today. It is firmly established. A 100 per cent union shop exists in the trade in Philadelphia—the chief center of upholstery weaving. We have also obtained a bigger insight into our industry and can understand the better whether it is being efficiently or inefficiently managed. Future years will bring further helps. Workers' education, practically applied, means workers' advance along every road.

Across America

A Workers' Education Pilgrimage

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

NEW YORK was the Alpha and Omega of my workers' education pilgrimage. The trip began with Brookwood and its wooded places in January of this year. It ended there five months later—after a visit to many of the cities and to most of the educational centers of the country.

New York is said to be foreign to America. It is supposed to know little of the American people or their real problems and ways of thinking. Had I been a New Yorker born, this might have been a true voyage of discovery. As it was, much was learned—and a better light obtained on the way that Workers' Education is going at the present time in America. A review of some of the places looked in on, and the state of progress in general, may be of interest to a wide group of trade unionists, awake to the value of workers' education to the advancement of the Labor Movement.

New England was the first scene of my inquiries. Boston is one of those "cradles of liberty" which have become old and tired in their cradling. "Culture" and thoughts of the past are the predominant ideas in the Massachusetts capital. It is not surprising, then, that the Trade Union College there should have made a specialty of so-called cultural topics, to a large degree. It is also not surprising that many of its students are not workers in the ordinary sense at all, but include social service workers and the like. Nevertheless, the college has become a recognized part of trade union activity and is so regarded by the local Labor Movement. Up to the present, it has paid but little heed to the definite trade union problems and policies which are the concern and form part of the curricula of many other labor colleges.

In Boston there is also a School of Social Science —started by the Socialists but captured by the Communists after the split in the former group. It is devoting itself to the teaching of Marxian Economics and Communist Party tactics and problems. Only a negligible number of organized workers are enrolled in the classes, members of the Workers Party.

Salem's Good Work

From Boston to Salem and New Haven are not far steps. But the difference between the institutions of the two latter places and those of the bigger city are wide indeed. The Salem Labor Class has been organized through the initiative of Charles Reed, a former student of Brookwood and former President of the Salem Central Labor Union. This body organized an Educational Committee, to interest the unionists in and around Salem in the matter of workers' education. It was felt that the best way to carry on the work would be through lectures on subjects closely connected with the problems of the Organized Labor Movement. Such lectures were held during the past year, with an enrollment of 67 students. These came not only from Salem but from the surrounding cities and towns, representing 17 different trades and local unions.

In addition to this immediate work at Salem, Reed was enabled to do other work of an educational character. He addressed the striking members of the United Textile Workers Local Union 1564 in Chicopee, and gave five lectures to an interested group of delegates of the Lowell Trades and Labor Council of Lowell, Mass. In that way he was able to arouse considerable interest and activity in other cities than that in which he was operating.

New Haven has still another story. Its study classes were formed by a group of sincere and devoted group of unionists, anxious to perfect themselves in public speaking—in order better to equip themselves for conferences with the employers and other trade union work. They found thereby that they also needed improvement in English and upon their own initiative and their own resources, they went ahead with that sort of class, too. If the same sort of persistence continues among the enrolled students there, New Haven will become the center of real educational activity among the workers, by and for themselves.

Shop Economics in Philadelphia

Philadelphia gives one a surprise of one's life. Most unexpectedly, we find there one of the oldest and most successful of the local labor colleges of the country. Organized in 1920 by a group of progressive unions, it has steadily continued its work and has become an institution respected and supported by the Labor Movement. It is not conducted under the official supervision of the Central Labor Union, but is managed by an executive council composed of one delegate from each of the local unions affiliated with the college. This number has grown steadily from an original 8 or 10 local unions to some 42 local unions during the past school year. In all its period of existence it has paid its own way.

A rather unique feature of the work of the College

has been its courses in "Shop Economics." A group of workers, usually shop chairmen and committee men and union officers in a given industry will form a class for the study of the economics of that particular industry. An instructor will be secured who understands the particular industry. The training and knowledge of industrial processes secured in the class is used by the union officers and members to secure wage increases and improved conditions from the employers. The textile unions in particular claim that these classes have been of the greatest value to them in strengthening their position by intelligent action. In these classes the social aspects of economics are by no means overlooked. It is largely because of the practical value of the classes to the trade unionists enrolled as students, that the College is so generally supported and is able to make healthy progress.

Harmony and sincere purpose have also made a success of the Portland, Ore., College, clear across the continent. Organized in the fall of 1921 through the efforts of the State Federation of Labor, Portland Central Labor Union and Teachers Union, this College has enjoyed a steady and healthy growth ever since. It has been supported entirely by donations and per capita tax payments from local unions plus tuition fees from students until the past year, when finances have been received from the proceeds of plays given by the class in Dramatic Art which have attracted widespread interest in the College work. Teachers are paid for all service. Most careful records of attendance at classes are kept and up-to-date bookkeeping methods are used. There is no dissension in the Labor movement in Portland. The value and necessity of the educational work is recognized generally in the movement and there is a degree of unity of thought and action hardly equalled in any other place visited.

California's Novel Effort

California presents a rather novel attempt to reach the workers—a method that can have results for ill as well as the good ones now evident.

Such Workers' Education activity as is being carried on in the state is chiefly under the direction of the Department of Education of the University of California. An appropriation of several thousand dollars of public funds is available for use in promoting labor education under the direction of a committee of nine persons, five of whom are appointed by the California State Federation of Labor and the remaining four being representatives of the University of California Extension Department. During the past year some 30 to 35 classes have been held in various parts of the state, most of which were organized by J. L. Kerchan, who is the State Federation Education Director. Of this number not more than 15 can be said to be giving courses in economics, social sciences, public speaking or labor problems. The others are largely of a vocational character. Of the instructors in the former classes it must be stated that they are mostly very capable people and generally having a more radical viewpoint than the average Labor official or rank file member. There are no strings attached to the appropriation of state funds and it is rather surprising that there is not a fuller understanding of the possibilities of developing workers' education than that which exists. The territory to be covered is, of course, great for one man, but it would seem through intensive work on his part in one or more of the larger industrial centers a much larger interest could be developed.

On the homeward way, Denver's effort at workers' education attracts attention.

Denver, Colorado, Labor College was organized in 1921 and has continued its activity ever since. It has the endorsement and to some extent, financial support from the Colorado State Federation of Labor and the Denver Central Labor Union and Local Unions. At the present time and for some time past, the Labor College activities and those of the Community Church have been closely interwoven. The President of the College Board is Rev. G. S. Lackland, who is also pastor of the Community Church. He is a person of tremendous energy and driving force. The Colorado State Federation of Labor also has an Education Director in the person of Rev. R. V. Holwell, who is an assistant to Dr. Lackland. The State Federation does not appropriate funds for this work but gives Dr. Holwell its official blessing and then lets him carry on the education work according to his own ideas and plans. He is also allowed to raise his own salary.

The education work in Denver and in the state, both in the regular classes in the towns and cities as well as the Farmer-Labor Summer Schools, which have been held, have undoubtedly made a definite contribution to the general progress of the Labor movement in the state. One noteworthy result that the educational activity is definitely credited with has been the demand for a cleaner and better leadership in the State Federation of Labor. Corrupt and inefficient officials have been forced out and new, progressive and clean cut types of men put in their places. Unfortunately, the Ku Klux Klan has made serious inroads in the movement in Denver and some other cities in the state and this has had some serious consequences and to some extent has nullified a part of the good work done by those interested in Labor Education.

Dissension a Drawback

Dissension in labor's ranks has injured the educational work in more places than one. This is true in Seattle, where the local labor college was origin-

ally organized in 1918, largely by the Seattle Central Labor Union. At that time the membership of the unions was large and of a generally radical character.

Classes were well attended and the educational work was financed and generally supported by the labor movement until 1920-21. Internal dissensions developed in the movement, the I. W. W. seemed to be in the ascendency and finally the work was lost sight of and given up.

Only a few lectures were held in 1921-22. Then, Dr. Robert Whittaker came to the city and took up the work in real earnest. Differences of opinion led to another split—when finally the college was put on a non-dogmatic and non-partisan basis. It went along well for a time. Later on, Dr. Whittaker left the city and John C. Kennedy, who had come to Seattle to reorganize the Socialist Party, was engaged as a part-time educational director for the College. Then a "right" and "left" fight developed within the Labor movement. The Central Labor Union which is the largest organized group became the battleground of the "lefts" and "rights."

The Labor College was drawn into the controversy, at least indirectly and has been injured as a consequence. The story in St. Paul and Minneapolis has been somewhat the same. The moral seems to be that propaganda institutions will not flourish as labor colleges. That has been the record to date all over the country.

In Cincinnati there has been a loss in interest and in attendance at the local classes for another reason. The effort there was organized presumably by certain international unions and the Extension Department of the University of Cincinnati. Classes are held in one of the Public High School Buildings. A very small number of people from the Local Unions in the city are at present enrolled as students. There seems to be very little indication of a sense of responsibility for the educational activity on the part of the Local Union people. Those mainly responsible for initiating the work felt in the beginning, that the participation of the University Extension Department people would be beneficial. Today they are agreed that this has not been the case. The labor people do not feel that the classes are *their* property. On the other hand they seem to feel that with so many professional educators participating in the work, it is *their* job to run the classes and assume all the responsibility. It is doubtful whether the classes functioning during the past winter could not have been just as well a part of the Extension Department's own activity and if they had been, to have drawn just as many students from the labor movemen as have been secured under the designation of a "Labor Class."

The Miners Do Big Things

In some ways, the most successful of the educational ventures are those among the Miners—in District 2 in Pennsylvania and in sub-district 5 of the Illinois District. In the midst of widespread unemployment, these mass meetings—for that is what they have often been—and labor chautauquas, have kept up the morale of the men and held them close to the union.

Both at Hastings and at Nanty-Glo, the message of unionism received great impetus and made the miners of District 2 understand the better the reasons for the ill conditions of their industry. They saw that wage cuts would not cure the chaos in Coal. Such moves, suggested by the operators, would only continue unemployment and make it more difficult for the men to secure reserves for some future struggle. At Taylorville, Ill., and vicinity, the lectures of prominent men connected with the Movement and the classes held have had a similar effect. Paul Fuller and Tom Tippett, the souls of these efforts, deserve congratulations—as do the officers of the union for backing them up and making the efforts fully effective.

These are some of the bits of information that I have gleaned from the tour across America. The difficulties of the educational job have been stressed because it is worth while in the beginning to realize what they are. Also, the big successes deserve individual studies in themselves. In general, these conclusions seem justified:

1. The Workers' Education movement is a living, human and growing movement.
2. It is still in a decidedly experimental stage.
3. The older local experiments have made a definite contribution to the progress of the local labor movements which they have been closely connected with.
4. There are more rank and file members enrolled in the classes than there are officials, paid or unpaid.
5. To date the surface of the American trade union movement has hardly been touched by advocates of purposeful workers' education.
6. The attitude generally of students attending classes is one of investigation, examination and inquiry rather than acceptance of any particular social, economic or political theories. They seem to demand the truth—facts and understanding.
7. Where classes have been organized or conducted primarily for propaganda purposes they have had but a brief existence.
8. Those efforts seem most directly and permanently felt which are pragmatically conducted—dealing with the industrial problems with which the workers are confronted.

The Calamity in Coal

The Miners' Strong Case: "Nationalization"

By H. S. RAUSHENBUSH

BROADENING THE GRIN

"Nationalization"—Mr. Rauschenbush contends—would give the fighting miners a bigger support among the consuming "public." As the author of "The Anthracite Question," he has given a great deal of study to the problem of Coal.

OUR two coal industries are in a bad way. Our bituminous industry is suffering from overdevelopment in the nation and unemployment in the union fields. Our anthracite industry is affected by this situation. It is being forced to stand some competition from very cheap bituminous coal. In both industries the workers are suffering. In the bituminous industry they have the old problems of steady work and a decent wage to solve all over again. In the anthracite industry they have the problem of raising wages to a decent level when a few companies claim that it would be impossible for them to pay those wages.

We have come to the place in the history of the coal industry where the public—the men and women in the city apartments and the men and women on the farms—are not lending the miners as much moral support or sympathy as they have been in the habit of doing. This fact is important to the miners and union men generally. For by and large the character of any wage settlements that are mediated or arbitrated is determined by the general public opinion about the merits of the question. The mediator, be he Governor or Senator or University President, is one of the public and affected by general opinion. Even the decisions of the Supreme Court in time take on the color of current public opinion.

The causes for the present public indifference are important. Why has one large group of workers which held public sympathy for so long lost so much of it? Four main reasons will occur immediately. The miners have, in the first place, been before the whole public with their difficulties more than any other union, not excluding the railroad brotherhoods who are the only group equalling them in importance. Even the "suffering Armenians" were left to suffer after they kept recurring year in and year out. People weary, decide that sympathy begins at home.

In the second place, the slow but steady shift of bituminous production from the Northern unionized coal fields to the Southern unionized fields has been accompanied by a general drop in the price of soft coal. It is exceedingly difficult for the public to object to other people's unemployment or poverty earnings if they get their own needs filled more cheaply than before. The same thing is happening in the textile industry of New England, which has been unsuccessfully bucking the 30 per cent. cost differential in favor of the Southern cotton mills. The public has not been taught to think beyond cheap shirts to the tragedy happening to thousands of families who no longer have quite enough to eat.

There is a third reason why the echo of public opinion is sounding more and more like Mercutio's dying gasp "a plague on both your houses." Whenever there is a wage increase and this holds true especially of anthracite, the operators have developed a habit of passing the whole increase on to the consumer. It enables them to stand up and say, as they are doing every day during the present negotiations, that every demand for an increase adds so many dollars to the price the consumers must pay. It takes a peculiar kind of nerve to say that with a straight face, but they seem to manage it. There is no surer way of gaining public sympathy than by

taking a pose as an advocate of a lower cost of living. The anthracite operators have perfected this pose. As long as they can retain it, as long as nobody shies and keeps on shying effective rocks at it, they stand to win public sympathy. The most effective rock at hand is a proposal that they absorb the wage increase out of their profits instead.

The fourth reason for the change in public support comes from the fact that the anthracite operators have played and won the arbitration trick. They offered to arbitrate all questions still in dispute September first, when the present contract expired. The miners declined. The operators loudly and widely blamed the miners for preferring what the public thinks is violence to what the public thinks is peaceful—a suspension to arbitration. After the operators had won that trick, they could, in the language of the *New Republic* "go on blandly refusing all demands, secure in the knowledge that if a strike came they would profit by the fear of a shortage while the union was blamed for the high prices."

All this public indifference is not necessarily permanent. It comes from the fact that the miners have not been able to explain to the public the extent to which their aims and purposes are really at one with those of the every other man in the country. Their story is a little complicated, and most people prefer to have their information in the same place they prefer to have their beer, a place where they can take it or leave it alone.

Here is what the miners might say if they were telling their story so that every man in the country would feel that they were not trying to hold him up:

1. We all know that there are too many bituminous mines and that the promise of work there has gathered around them too many miners. They sit there, often because they have unfitted themselves for any other trade, and wait for work and go hungry because they don't get much. Not only that.

2. With too many mines and too many miners the cheapest mines and the cheapest miners are getting all the work. The number of the anti-union mines is growing in spite of the fact that we have too many mines already. Not only that.

3. The union will go down and organize those mines, and the men working there will then get enough to live on. The people who think there is a chance of killing off the union are foolish. But it has hundreds of millions of organized capital against it. While it is unionizing in one place some other mines will be opened and reopened somewhere else. The game of hide and seek will go on with everybody suffering before it is over. Not only that.

4. This vicious circle will go on until the number of mines and miners in the country equals and no more than equals the country's need for coal. It is just as true today as it was when Lincoln said it, that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The coal industry cannot exist half union and half anti-union.

5. There are two ways to bring about this equalization of men and mines to the country's needs. One is a bloody costly fight for life with the companies that are financially strongest coming out ahead and the great number of financially weak companies going to the wall and closing down. This is the policy of bankruptcy. The operators have nothing better to offer the nation.

The other way is to handle the coal industry as a single national problem, treating all the fields as part of one whole instead of as jealous little Balkan States, and to close down the superfluous mines in accordance with an intelligent budgeting of the nation's coal consumption. This is possible only through nationalization.

6. The problems of the anthracite industry lead to the same conclusion. The anthracite coal fields are bunched together in Eastern Pennsylvania. The operators can not play the game of hide and seek. The fields are unionized. But some companies are making larger profits than others. They can therefore pay larger wages than others. But the miners bargain with the industry as a whole. The low profits of a few companies set a limit to their wage increases under the present system. These companies claim that if they pay the wage increases they will go to the wall. Nobody wants them to go to the wall. We can use all the anthracite we can get.

The question for the anthracite miners, therefore, is how to get the profits of the large and profitable companies to help pay the wage increases for the men at the smaller companies that are claiming they cannot pay it. A wage pool, a lumping of all the money available for wages and a spread of it among all the workers, would solve the difficulty. It would be impossible without actual unity of the industry. The only way to secure such a unity is through nationalization.

In both industries the logic of better wages and steady work leads to nationalization. The only hope for stability lies there.

The present calamity in coal is the natural result of everybody's policy of living from hand to mouth and thinking in terms of the small town and small mine instead of a nation of 110,000,000 people with an annual coal consumption of 600,000,000 tons.

SERVICE OR DESTRUCTION?

Anniversary of World War Brings That Question to Inventors of Modern Machinery

MOTOR transportation is one of the wonders of our age. Out in the West, in particular, the motor bus is hitting the railroad traffic in freight—so much so that many trains have been taken off and some short lines discontinued. More and more the Motor will be the Source of Good or Evil. Shall it be used for Service, in garnering the grain, in transporting goods and raw materials to markets, or shall it be again used as an instrument of destruction? Much for our future civilization depends on the answer. The anniversary of the opening of the World War, in August, made the question more pertinent. Can Labor answer it?

One Hundred Years of the "Iron Horse"

The Railroad's Past—and Its Future

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

SEPTEMBER 27, 1825 is an historic date. It marks an event of greater importance to the Modern World than the Battle of Waterloo, which occurred ten years before.

On that Fall day one hundred years ago the first steam locomotive—George Stephenson's "Locomotion No. 1"—carried its first passengers between Stockton and Darlington in the County of Durham, North England. As that new and wonderful machine of travel pulled successfully into the market town on the river Skerne, the words of Edward Pease—the old Quaker who had backed Stephenson—began their road to fulfillment: "If they will only let us make the railroads, the railroads will make the country."

These words were a prophecy, to come to pass not only in Great Britain, but throughout the world—and nowhere more so than in America. The iron monster on rails—spitting fire and snorting smoke—was to carry the banner of industrialism to the far shores of California. It was to break through the wide stretches of this new-born nation and make it the greatest on earth, in riches and power. It was to bring coal and the raw products together almost in the twinkling of an eye and speed up the growth of American manufactures. It was to convert this in a few years from an agricultural to an industrial country, crying for workers; and in response to that cry, our population almost doubled between 1840 and 1860.

The romance of the rails is the Making of America. The flight of the horse and coach before the "iron horse" of Stephenson was the flight of an entirely old era before the coming of an entirely new one. The locomotive, in large part, was the crowning achievement of the "Industrial Revolution," which began about 1750 with the inventions of John and Robert Kay and transformed the world of work and wealth into a maze of steam, electricity and machines. The Mechanical Age—still producing its miracles and masterpieces—was to be speeded up a thousand-fold by the ease of communication which the railroads produced.

The Earthquake

Even the appearance of town and countryside were to be changed greatly by the new agency of transportation. Dickens likens the coming of the railroad to London to the coming of an earthquake. Of Staggs' Gardens, in that city, he writes in DOMBEY AND SON: "The first shock of a great earthquake had, just at that period, rent the whole neighborhood to its centre. Traces of its course were visible on every side. Houses were knocked down; streets broken through and stopped; deep pits and trenches dug in the ground; enormous heaps of earth and clay thrown up; buildings that were undermined and shaking, propped by great beams of wood. . . . Everywhere were bridges that led nowhere; thoroughfares that were wholly impassable; Babel towers of chimneys, wanting half their height; temporary wooden houses and enclosures in the most unlikely situations; carcasses of ragged tenements, and fragments of unfinished walls and arches and piles of scaffolding and wilderness of bricks, and giant forms of cranes, and tripods straddling above nothing. There were a hundred thousand shapes and substances of incompleteness, wildly mingled out of their places, upside down, burrowing in the earth, aspiring in the air, moulding in the water, and unintelligible as any dream. Hot springs and fiery eruptions, the usual attendants upon earthquakes lent their contributions of confusion to the scene. Boiling water hissed and heaved within dilapidated walls; hence, also, the glare and roar of flames came issuing forth; and mounds of ashes blocked up rights of way, and wholly changed the law and custom of the neighborhood.

"In short, the yet unfinished and unopened railroad was in progress; and, from the core of all this dire disorder, trailed smoothly away, upon its mighty course of civilization and improvement."

The Hand That Turns the Lever

That course was to lead round the globe; and in the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad to be one of the big factors, even, in causing a great war. In peace, the builder of factories and villas and cities; in war, it was to play a leading role in their destruction. Although not literally true—for the resourceful Masters of Credit have seized the power—there is much of a half-truth in the recent words of an English paper: "The hand that turns the lever rules the world." What is nearer the state of affairs is

this: "The hand that turns the lever might rule the world—if it so wished."

The accurateness of that statement is seen in Britain at this very hour. It is not so much the shadow of the Mine Strike that paralyzes the Powers that Be with fear; it is the grim picture of the National Union of Railwaymen refusing to handle "scab" or "blackleg" coal, and the danger of their further rsfusal to handle many other things, should the crisis continue.

The far-reaching technical changes which the Industrial Revolution introduced, and which the railroad pushed to completion at great speed, had a profound effect on the methods and forms of business management and procedure. Out of the new conditions of business the joint stock company with limited liability—the corporation of America—was born. Or, in the strictest accuracy, it was "reborn."

The Romans, in their "remaking of the world" had hit upon this idea—of a fictitious person composed of a group of actual persons. The Middle Ages had used it in their great trading bodies, which flourished on a large scale and extended far their influence and wealth.

Might of the Corporation

The Industrial Revolution made the corporation in its modern form the predominant agency of human activity, particularly in the production of goods and the search for power and riches. How little the corporation had been in effect up to that time is seen in the observations of the economist, Adam Smith, that joint stock companies, without monopoly rights, could succeed in only a small number of trades and industries. The very reverse of that opinion came to prove true: the corporation forged its own way to the front and was itself an instrument for the making of Monopoly. Rather than needing exclusive privileges to win, it outstripped the very power of the State itself—and in the Standard Oil Company, the big coal corporations (at least, in hard coal), the General Electric and many other lesser examples, it secured exclusive power in its field through intimidation of the state rather than state aid.

Certain corporations, as we all know, were given exclusive and peculiar privileges: the so-called public utilities. First and foremost among these stand the railways. They are great public highways, supposedly dedicated to the public service, and "affected with a public interest," as the legal phrase goes. They have been well likened to the nerve centers of the human body. Without them the nation would be at a standstill. Those privately possessing them, without curb or control, could have the entire country at their mercy.

It was in 1830 that the American railways began their triumphant march across the continent. Less than half a century later, the enormous power which they had already piled up led to the demand for their regulation.

'73 and Regulation

By 1873 the transportation army had crossed the Mississippi and had run a network of roads over the grain-producing states of the near-Northwest. The banking house of Jay Cooke shot the Northern Pacific as far toward the coast as Bismarck, North Dakota. Then, with a jar and a roar, the house of Cooke went to the wall. With it went other houses and other railroad ventures, and the panic of that and the succeeding year was on. Overbuilding exacted its toll, as overexpansion always will. The price of wheat tumbled with alarming speed; the price of corn followed in its wake. The farmers of the Middle West saw ruin facing them, even as the Northwest saw the same spectre but a short time ago.

Complicated as were the causes of the grain depression, railroad financing and high freight rates had a leading part in bringing on the debacle. "Regulation" was the cry of the Granger Movement, and under Granger auspices regulation made its bow.

With the decline of the Grange, regulation itself declined—only to burst forth again stronger than ever around 1885. It was then that the young "Bob" La Follette, the heir of the Granger Movement, began his long fight for effective control of the railroads, which was to be crowned by his Valuation Act of 1913. The idea jumped from the states—to which it had been confined—to the national government itself, and 1887 saw the passage of the national Act to Regulate Commerce. The rail monsters were to be brought to time. The "public" was going to ride them, and not let them trample over the "public" like Juggernauts. In England the plan of control had gone ahead of American national legislation, just as the railroad had appeared there first; and our first effort at federal regulation followed closely the provisions of the English Act. "No discrimination" was the demand which rushed the bill through Congress, just as "high freight rates" a dozen years before had put like measures on the lawbooks of the states.

(Concluded in our next issue)

Crime Commission and "The" Crime Commission

"Steal Trust" Gary Opens Up a Fagan School

By BILL BROWN, BOOMER

YOU know it, friends: It's great to be a capitalist. Or to have been caught hanging around with capitalists at some time in your life. Why, even some of those "radicals" and "liberals" hanker after anyone that's ever been connected with a capitalist payroll.

Just have had a job with a capitalist newspaper or a capitalist social service sobbing society or a capitalist this-and-that—and you're bound to have a "liberal" crowd standing around you like the ladies that crowd up to feel Jack Dempsey's muscles. Funny, but true.

Which here observations is occasioned by my being in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—sometimes called "the Smoky City." This is a darn fine capitalist town, you can bet. You appreciate the fine things that this here take-it-and-keep-it system of ours has done for us Americans, especially the boys on top. (Generally, when we speak of "us Americans" we mean those boys, you know. I hear a guy on the corner just now saying, "Us Americans is going to make them furren countries pay up their debts, you bet." And that guy couldn't raise a good debt for himself, much less think of paying one! He's never got that far.)

Well, I got here the other night and thought I'd settle down to sitting up all night in the Pennsylvania Station, watching the crowds come in and saving the cost of a "hotel." When a nice lady comes up to me, and let's me know I'm residing in the big town of the capitalists.

Says she to me: "My good man," (that's the way with those darn help-the-weary folks; it's always "my good man" with them). Well, she says: "My good man, I would advise you not to be a lingering here all night." "But, why? my good lady," I answered, kind of peeved-like.

"Because," says she, "the police is making a round-up of suspicious characters, and they might lock you up, if you sit here all night. I'm from the Travelers Aid, and I'd advise you to go to Trotter's Mission across the way. You'll get a good night's rest and won't have to pay for it."

Which was some compliment, when you think it over. But all men are "suspicious characters" who don't have enough money for breakfast and for a couple of tips or so. The only ones not suspicious characters are the guys that have a big roll of money—no matter where they got it.

Well, I went to the Mission and sung a bunch of hymns and told them I felt "much better" when they tried to convert me—and listened to a lot of guys telling how they became respectable by following the Lord. And I went to sleep and got up in the "cold gray dawn" of the morning after—and right there across the street were three cops on horseback with pistols at their sides, looking us all over as we sort of sneaked out. So, I felt like an upstanding American citizen, you can bet, and stuck my bosom out with pride—to see how well the riches of this here town were protected against the down-and-out.

That town of Pittsburgh is just full of cops. It's one of the "best policed cities" in this whole land. And the weather is just as gray as the policemen's uniforms. You can't see a ray of sunshine until about noon—and then it comes down sort of complaining-like, as though it don't want to let you have it at all. You breathe smoke all day—and contract "t. b." before your next day's breakfast.

But that there is just the flower of the way things should be run—according to Andy Mellon and Judge Gary, who run the town. It's the sort of picture that John Ruskin drew of the way the capitalists want the thing run all over the wide world: the workers down in the valley, breathing smoke and working as long as the day is, and the big boys up in the hills or gallavanting over the earth, having a good time with Follies beauties.

Yep, Gary and Mellon know all that's good for the workingmen, you understand; and we vote them into the Cabinet and other big places so they can fix us up in the proper style.

So, it's no surprise to me to read that old Gary has decided to form a Crime Commission. It's "the" National Crime Commission, they say. Well, he can teach them all a thing or two at crime commission, all right. And I thought when I first read it that

ATTENTION: JUDGE GARY!

Courtesy National Child Labor Committee

THE NEWSBOY

We invite Your Highness' attention to the criminals of the National Manufacturers' Association—compelling children to work in bad environment, through their fight on the Child Labor Amendment.

it was to be a sort of Fagan school for young criminals of great wealth.

It's crime commission that he's been at all his life. He's got the biggest school of gunmen and finks that the world ever saw, not to mention his own personal criminal record. You remember, in the steel strike what that good, holy criminal did to those there steel workers. Murder was no word for it, you understand, not to talk about ordinary "peace" times.

But now, what do you think this Humbugger ups and says. Why, says he: "I'm forming this here commission to stamp out crime among the common people. They're getting too wise, you understand; catching my ways of doing things. It's got to stop, I tell you. We've got to keep a Monopoly of Crime, just like we got a monopoly of everything else."

So, the Saturday Evening Post begins to squawk about the crime wave. And some guy in Albany says we treat the prisoners too kind. And then a guy gets up over in England and says they have almost stopped crime over there by treating the British prisoners nice and kind-like. And then, there's a hot discussion. And then, Gary comes along and says his Crime Commission is going to do the job—but just what the job is going to be: to treat them nice or treat them rough, nobody is informed.

We all know what it will be though, if old Gary really gets started. Here'll be a meeting of the Crime Commission, when it gets organized:

Gary's office, New York. The Crime Commission commissioning crime. Enter Gary's third assistant secretary in charge of gunmen.

"Your Honor," says he, "our monopoly is interfered with. Two guys held up a bloke in this here city and stole 10,000,000 paper rubles off him. Here's another guy that stole a loaf of bread. Here's another that cracked a safe and then cracked a kopf. I await your orders."

"Mete out fit punishment," answers Gary, in a voice of thunder, Jehovah-like. "Get hold of the safe-cracker and kopf-cracker and put him in our training school for strike-breakers. Send the guy that stole the rubles up for life for not knowing better than to steal something worth nothing. We must get rid of the morons on this job. Our social service department of the Steal Corporation can take care of him. As for the guy that stole the loaf of bread: hang him by the neck until dead. Idleness is the mother of evil. He ought to have been on the rock pile breaking stones."

And so forth and so forth. But I'm not kicking, you understand, not even on this hot day, as I look out of my dirty hotel window on the runway before the Penn Station. It's great to be a capitalist; they can do things like they want. And just now the workers are just as bad as the "radicals" and "liberals"—almost. They vote the way these here capitalists want them to; and they put Andy Mellon into the Treasury, and they think Judge Gary is a relative to God Almighty. It's a crime to be a workingman just now; so why shouldn't they bottle us up, if they want to have their little fun?

WHICH SHALL IT BE?

War, the brutal destroyer, is pictured too often in history as a thing of beauty and of "Glory." This cartoon—from the Hearst papers—asks: "What are our schools teaching our children?" It is the workers and the children of workers who are starved and maimed and slaughtered by War. Interest your child in such Labor-controlled organizations as Pioneer Youth—teaching Peace—and such contests as that mentioned on our back page cover.

"Popular" vs. Public Ownership

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

The battling Miners have learned from experience that Public Ownership of the Mines—with Workers' Control—is the way out for them and the "public." To stop the demand for such action in other fields, American Industry has devised its so-called "Popular Ownership" scheme. What of it?

"POPULAR OWNERSHIP!" "A wider diffusion of stock in public utilities among customers and employees and general public!" A new development in our industrial life! A development to conjure with! A key to the solution of all of the problems with which our poor, dear capitalist class are confronted! A bulwark against public or government ownership! A dissolver of the spirit of unrest sometimes discovered among the poor, ignorant customers of our electric light, gas, telephone and other public utility industries! A miracle worker with the labor problem! (And, incidentally, under it the utilities may be assured of all of the capital they desire and those on the inside need no longer to worry lest control is wrested from their hands.) A savior indeed of the structure of civilization!

Prescription: Sell a few shares of stocks—preferably non-voting shares—to your customers and your workers. And presto, the social problem disappears.

"Popular Ownership" Defended

In order to hear more of this wonderful discovery, I attended the Spring meeting of the Academy of Political Science when the subject was up for discussion. I heard it discussed from every conceivable angle. I went away a wiser man. The vice-presidents of the New York Central and of the New York Edison Company were there. The Secretary of Commerce talked to the assembly over the radio. The Secretary of the "Public Relations Department"—not the propaganda department—of the Eastern Railways told of the trebling of the number of small stockholders since the war in our public utilities and of the billions of dollars of savings we workers had in *our* savings banks and insurance companies.

All would have gone well, and I would have left the meeting with an absolute knowledge that labor in America had at last arrived in the capitalist class, had it not been that Sidney Hillman and George Soule and Eustice Seligman and Donald Richberg were also there, and that they began by pricking the lovely bubbles which are good friends of the public utilities had blown for our delectation.

But, now that I come to think about it, the gentlemen of the public utilities pricked a few bubbles themselves.

The Rich and the Tax Exempt Securities

For instance, Vice-President Harris of the New York Central rather let the cat out of the bag in explaining one of the reasons why the big corporations were giving the workers and customers the great opportunity of getting on the inside, when he said:

"Heavy surtaxes have taken such a bite out of the incomes derived by rich men out of dividends and interest, that their appetite for further investment in stocks and bonds the income of which is subject to federal taxes, has somewhat lost its edge. It has

become necessary to widen the field and to seek for additional money from men of moderate means."

Or in other words, in order to escape taxation, the rich are more and more investing in tax exempt securities, and it is necessary for the railroads and other utilities to look around for money from among the middle and working classes who, because they have a small income, can of course, well afford to pay the tax on returns from public utility securities.

Desire for Speculative Profits

Mr. Harris concluded by expressing the hope that employees and customers would be less likely to agitate for government ownership if they had a stake in the company through ownership of stock. He failed, however, to state that the rich are also withdrawing their investments from public utilities because these utilities are being regulated by the state, and it is not so easy as formerly to get large speculative profits. The speculative profits are made in public utilities largely through promoters' fees, through the watering of stocks, through underwriting of bonds, from the rigging of the market, etc. Later on, they come from selling supplies to the utilities, and other manipulations rather than through mere stock ownership. It is then time for the big insiders to unload most of their common stock and seek other fields of investment—graciously remaining, however, on the Directing Boards.

The chief reasons advanced for this wider diffusion of stock-ownership among the masses throughout the discussion were: a wider field from which capital may be obtained, a more loyal group of employees, a group likely to think more in terms of dividends, less in terms of wage demands or social change, and a larger group of customers who would be active propagandists for the company among the non-stock holding public. "Every man a capitalist" was the shibboleth of the meeting. Professor Carver of Harvard saw in this development an industrial revolution.

Irresponsible Control

And then came the skeptics. They pointed out that much of the stock sold to employees and customers was non-voting stock and gave workers no say in the administration. Even when the stock was voting stock, without any change in the organization of the modern corporation, control would tend to become much more irresponsible than formerly. If the stocks of a corporation are owned by a few hundred or a few thousand stockholders, it is conceivable that a minority not liking the policy of the governing group might get together and make an effective protest. When it is owned by several hundred thousand, that effective minority control is a virtual impossibility. Eustice Seligman, son of the economist, New York attorney, told of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars in fighting in behalf of the claims of the minority stockholders in a comparatively small corporation. The officers control the machinery. They can use the funds of the corporation in circularizing the stockholders, in telling them of their side of the case. They can collect enough proxies to ensure victory. The protestants must dig into their own pockets for postage and printing and legal fees. The fight is usually a losing one.

Even more difficult does the task become under the so-called "popular ownership" plan with tens of thousands of shareholders scattered throughout the country. It doesn't pay John Jones, telephone company clerk of Greeley, Colorado, owning three shares of stock in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to travel from Greeley to 195 Broadway, New York City, to cast his vote for a new Board of Directors of the A. T. and T. for the ensuing year and to tell the meeting what ought to be done to improve things out in Greeley. It doesn't pay Sarah Smith, school teacher, of New York City, to get off a day or an afternoon from school and travel from the Bronx to Broadway to cast her vote and protest against the policy of the company. That is not done. If you are a stockholder, you receive a proxy blank from one of the officers of the company, William Doitall, with a modest suggestion that you fill in the name of the officer, put the blank neatly in the enclosed envelope and mail the proxy to Doitall. He will take care of your affairs. You don't know anything about the officer. You sign the proxy. Minority stockholders may appear at the meeting and kick against financial manipulations about which they have heard, but the Hon. Mr. Doitall has the proxies. The stockholders may do the talking if they get the floor. He does the voting. Donald Richberg described this new "revolution" of "employee-customer ownership" as merely an "*improvement in the mechanism of minority control, which is the essential device for making a fortune out of any enterprise.*"

The Skeptics Ask Questions

The skeptics asked: "Does this plan carry with it any scheme of proportional representation which will give an effective voice to minority groups?" Their answer was: "No."

"Does it make provision for representation of employees on the Board of Directors?" "No."

"Does it make it incumbent on the officers to submit to the stockholders *all* of the information on which they can base a sound decision as to how the company is managed?" "No. The average balance sheet is so made up that a public accountant has difficulty in getting at many of the essential facts in the case."

"Does it prevent the directors from profiting per-

sonally from the transactions of the company?" "No."

Putting All One's Eggs in One Basket

Furthermore, more than one said, "If I were advising an investor as to the disposition of his small savings, I would not urge him to put all of his eggs in one basket. Henry Dennison, the manufacturer, warned the over-enthusiastic of the danger of having the principal part of one's savings subject to the same risks as one's principal source of income."

If the average employee was induced to place his savings in the company in which he worked, a failure in the company would hit him doubly hard. It would mean a loss of his job and the loss of any income from savings, perhaps the wiping out of those savings at a time he needed them the most.

From the standpoint of control, therefore, employee-customer ownership, as now developed, leads to increased irresponsibility and increased power by the few. In terms of capital, it releases large sums of money formerly invested in utilities by the rich, for investment in tax and exempt securities and in newer industries at home and abroad, where profits are likely to be greater. This may have the indirect effect of accelerating large scale production in other lines and of increasing the holdings of Americans in undeveloped countries.

Effect on Workers' Interests

From the standpoint of the worker, employee participation in ownership has no great advantages as urged under the popular ownership plan. As Sidney Hillman pointed out, it has none of the benefits of such developments as labor banking, where the workers actually organize their own enterprise and actually direct its control. It gives to the worker nothing of the knowledge of the inside workings of industry, or training in management that *bona fide* labor or co-operative undertakings give. To the extent that it weans him away from his union—and that is the object of many who are backing the movement—to that extent it induces the worker "to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage." For what are a few dollars extra dividends at the end of the year compared with the power that comes by means of thorough organization? What is the knowledge of the industry acquired through the reading of a few unintelligible balance sheets compared with the knowledge gained through the struggles and achievements of trade union organizations? What is the training gained by the workers in industrial control by making out a proxy once a year—if that privilege, indeed, is given—compared with the training that labor is increasingly receiving through the unions, with its developing enterprises on the industrial, the educational, the political, the co-operative and the financial fields?

If the stocks in the enterprise in which the employee is working sink in value, his losses are great indeed. If real control accompanied participation in ownership, that would be another question. But that is not contemplated by the sponsors of this movement.

"AMERICA, INC."

as the Interests Call the Stock Peddling Schemes Demolished by

DR. LAIDLER

will be put under further microscopic inspection

IN FUTURE ISSUES.

Being the Great Story of

HOW BARNUM'S SPIRIT RETURNED TO BUNK THE PEOPLE

Effect on Consumers

The advantage of customer ownership to a minority of consumers is that they may receive back in dividends part or all of the monopoly price. They pay for service to the utilities. However, under the irresponsible control which usually accompanies customer-employee participation in ownership, the customers are never sure how much of the "swag" will be returned to them and how much will be diverted to high salaries, to fat profits for insiders who supply the corporation with equipment, etc., or when the value of their stocks may be artificially depressed as a preliminary to purchase by the insider. They have some safeguard by virtue of state regulation, but not an adequate safeguard.

From the standpoint of society, if this wider participation of ownership among a larger minority of customers and stockholders leads to a slowing down of the movement for real public ownership, society-at-large is the loser. For it may find itself

even more than at present the victim of a conspiracy of insiders, a minority group of workers and a minority of customers, to raise prices to the public. And the public may be less able effectively to resist these higher charges than when it could concentrate its indignation against a private monopoly owned by the few.

Inferior to Public Ownership

Moreover, from a social standpoint, "popular ownership" is infinitely inferior to public or community ownership. For:

(1) It does nothing to reduce the enormous wastes due to competitive industry. We may have a "popular ownership" of the railroads, and yet have to support the hundreds of separate railroad systems with their expensive duplications in tracks, in rolling stock, in terminals, in clerical force, in ticket offices, in advertising and legal expenses, in office buildings, in repair shops, in a hundred other items. We may have a customer-employee ownership of bituminous coal mines and yet have to support the hundreds of unnecessary mines now operating in part in this country.

(2) "Popular ownership" does not ensure service at cost. Each utility would still strive to charge all the traffic could bear, and the minority of the population only would be the gainer. Nor would regulation of prices by the state solve the problem. For in fixing a price, a regulation commission must make it high enough to permit the least efficient company whose product is needed to make a profit. This means an enormous profit for the most efficient. Under public ownership, on the other hand, a price would be fixed which would cover costs for the entire industry—even though it failed to cover the cost of the least productive unit.

Furthermore, society would have to continue to pay dividends on watered stock and on bonds from now until eternity under any system of private ownership. And, as has been time after time demonstrated in connection with the railroads, mines, etc., an attempt is constantly being made under private ownership, and made successfully, to raise the valuation of these utilities as the years go on, and force society to pay an ever increasing sum of money to security holders. Under public ownership, as the industry progresses, more bonds are retired with each passing year, and the capital charges thus constantly tend to decrease. The public is, moreover, immediately relieved of the necessity of paying dividends, and can usually sell bonds at a lower interest rate than can private concerns.

Does Not Lead to Equality of Opportunity

(3) Under "popular ownership" only the more fortunate minority are benefited by the profits made. The less fortunate majority—those who need assistance the most—are the victims. When I began life in Brooklyn, New York, I immediately entered into the heritage of a publicly-owned water system and obtained my drinking water at cost. I didn't need to grow up and earn enough money to buy a share in the water company, or be fortunate enough in the choice of my parents and choose those who were well supplied with shares. For the supply was owned by the municipality. I was able as soon as I was old enough, to go to the public school without charge; to romp in the public parks—which happened to be my salvation—without charge; to walk on the public highway without charge; except insofar as all citizens combined to pay for the upkeep of these services. Public ownership means equal privileges for all; popular ownership can never reach that ideal.

(4) Popular ownership—as explained by the distinguished citizens at the Academy of Political Science meeting—does not contemplate active participation in management of the workers. My kind of public ownership does.

(5) Popular ownership does nothing to change the motives of industry. The motive under popular ownership is profit—the Great God Profit—which has led in the past to so many of the evils from which we are suffering. Public ownership makes the primary goal of production, service, rather than profit.

This new development is in part a recognition of the restlessness of the people of this country under private monopoly; a recognition that something must be done to prevent a radical change. It, however, introduces no new principle in industry. It introduces a new and inviting shibboleth for the industrial powers-that-be. That is all. Will that shibboleth succeed, or will the workers and public generally see through it to the actual facts in the case?

Will the Movement Prevent Social Change?

Still bleieving as I do in the observation of Abraham Lincoln that "you can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but not all the people all the time," I do not believe that the new King Canutes can stem the tide toward public ownership by the mere repetition of "Employee-Customer Participation in Ownership"; to wit, "every man a capitalist." "Public ownership and Democratic control" has a better ring. But, saying that, I believe that the workers should be made to appreciate the real purport of this new campaign of their Industrial Highnesses and that every worker should take it on himself to aid in public enlightenment on this subject.

Those "Heathen Chinee"

The Awakening of the Workers in the Orient

TO "Chinafy," in the language of the "strong men," has always been a term of contempt. The late Theodore Roosevelt hurled it with scathing ridicule at those who did not believe America was in need of the biggest army and navy ever.

The Chinaman was made to be trampled upon, kicked about, and exploited by any and every other race blessed with "culture" and the craving for gold. So the recent chapter ran.

Lo and behold! Imperialist Humbuggery has come in for an awful jolt. The slit-eyed Oriental has seen a light. He demands the status of other men—and before it is all over he will get it.

The "Christian" nations will now awaken, when it is too late, to attempt to mollify him. The Shanghai strike, which is still on, may die down; but it is the beginning of the real rise of the Chinese people to a new feeling of their power.

The underground reasons for the Shanghai uprising are stated admirably by J. W. Brown, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions:

"Shanghai is one of the Treaty Ports; that is, it is practically governed by a municipality consisting almost entirely of the representatives of foreign capital and foreign consuls, with sometimes a Chinaman co-opted as an adviser. The large Chinese population has no vote. The industrial system has been introduced into the town without any of the safeguards for the worker which have been gradually won in the Western countries."

Wages run below the level of subsistence—particularly in the silk industry, owned largely by the British and Japanese.

"Here children are obtained from the country for $2 a month; they are employed in the silk mills for sometimes as long as 16 hours a day; their work is to brush cocoons over boiling water, and they have to do it standing. Often they drop asleep at their work; many of them die young. Of the 82,696 mill-workers in Shanghai, 13,063 are under 14."

Some attempts have been made to remedy these evils. A factory code was drawn up, but it has become a dead letter. A Commission was appointed two years ago, and it recommended a curb on child labor. But little has come of it. The workers have grown more and more restive. Strikes and other disturbances were of frequent occurrence. An outbreak was only awaiting a suitable excuse. This came with the killing of a Chinese workman by a Japanese foreman.

"A Chinese demonstration throughout the foreign quarter led to firing by the municipal police; and since that moment the excitement has been steadily growing. There has been a clash between foreigners and Chinese at Hankow, Canton and other cities; already hundreds of workers have been killed. The capitalist press admits that there is danger that the situation will get out of hand. The usual imperialist remedy was tried: British and Japanese warships were sent to the scene of the disturbance. Another proposed remedy was a suggestion that at the forthcoming Tariff Conference demands might be made for political and economic reforms from the Chinese —we wonder whether there is some idea of a more drastic Dawes Scheme for China at the back of the minds of International Finance—and lastly, since the disturbances have actually broken out, a Commission of Enquiry has been proposed."

A Labor Committee of Enquiry, Brown suggests, would be more to the point. The economic situation, upon which coals of fire have been poured by Pan-Asiatic sentiment, is of grave concern to the Labor forces throughout the world. European workers must awake to the fact that their continent is now only a small part of the world's surface. "It is no longer the proud mistress of the world." Child labor in China will lead to the re-establishment of child labor in Europe. The textile mills of that continent and of Great Britain, even now, are working short time while the Shanghai mills have been working from 15 to 17 hours per day.

"Simply stated, the problem for the European worker is: 'Are his wages and working conditions to approximate to the level in the Oriental countries, or is an attempt to be made to raise the workers in these countries to the standards already attained by him?' It is not merely a question of slightly lower standards here, or a wage reduction there. *The whole International Movement is at stake,* for if capitalism succeeds in its objective in India and China, it will be able to crush the Movement elsewhere."

With that in mind, President Purcell and Secretary Brown cabled on June 12th to the Shanghai strikers, praising the "noble stand" of the Chinese workers in battering at the door of imperialist autocracy. That cable will prove an historic link with the future. It is the first call of workers, white, yellow and black, to stand in a solid unity against all exploiters, no matter what their color, creed or patriotic mouthings.

Correspondence Course

Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau

By C. J. HENDLEY

Progress of the American Labor Movement

LESSON IV.

Labor's First Political Experiments

THE student should keep in mind that we study these past events only to get a better understanding of the labor movement as a whole. We are trying to get a line on the progress of labor and must get a view of the past in order to get a better understanding of what is likely to be the trend of our movement in the future.

At the time the present government of the United States was founded, property qualifications were required of voters in all the states. That is, a man was not allowed to vote unless he owned a certain amount of property or had a certain income per year. Some states limited the suffrage to owners of land only. Historians estimate that in Washington's time there were not more than 120,000 voters out of a population of 4,000,000.

Manhood Suffrage

The frontier states were the first to introduce manhood suffrage. Vermont joined the union in 1791 with a constitution that provided for universal manhood suffrage. Kentucky came in 1792 with the same democratic principle in its constitution. All the western states formed their governments on this basis and when they entered the union they brought with them this idea of democracy, which reacted on the older states. From the time of Washington's administration until the 20's agitation was carried on for abolishing the property qualifications for voters; and one by one the older states fell in line with the new states, except certain southern states where the slave owners' power was too strong to be broken.

But these changes were not made without opposition. Those who advocated them were denounced as levellers, disturbers of the peace and Jacobins, which was the name for the Bolsheviki of those days. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Chancellor Kent in New York were the great champions of property restrictions on voting. Chancellor Kent said there must be this protection against the whims of the motley crowd of paupers, immigrants, journeymen and laborers of all classes. He said universal suffrage endangers property and puts it in the power of the poor to control the well-to-do. And he said this democratic principle could not be contemplated without terror.

But in spite of such opposition, the workingmen of nearly all the states found themselves in possession of the right to vote by the year 1921. Soon after this workingmen's parties began to be organized, the most important of which were in Pennsylvania and New York. The unions of Philadelphia started the movement. See pages 33-36 of the textbook for reasons why labor went into politics.

Labor's Demands

The substance of labor's demands then was equality of opportunity. The thinking men in the ranks of labor saw clearly that the ballot alone would not improve the condition of the workers unless they learned how to use it. They saw that ignorance, long hours of exhausting labor, and poverty were great handicaps holding the workers and their children down. Hence, they demanded that the powers of the state governments be used to secure for everyone an equal opportunity for self-improvement and advancement. They demanded the ten-hour day to secure for themselves a measure of the leisure enjoyed by the well-to-do. They demanded the abolition of imprisonment for debt, abolition of child labor, restrictions on the use of convict labor that competed with free labor, abolition of sweatshops, exemption of wages and tools from seizure for debts, —all these and more they demanded that workingmen might be given a chance to rise above the level of drudges.

Demand for Free Public Schools

In the beginning of their political movement, the workers' chief demand was for free, public schools. The workingmen of Philadelphia stated this demand clearly. They appointed a committee to study the whole subject of education, and it made a remarkable report. It explained the defects of the educational system of that time and made certain constructive recommendations, which have since been adopted as main features of our educational system.

The so-called public schools of that day were charity schools open only to the children of parents who had given proof that they were too poor to educate their children in private schools. These in-

stitutions got to be known as pauper schools, and were shunned by the self-respecting working people. As a consequence, great numbers of children were growing up in ignorance to perpetuate the ignorance and poverty of their parents.

The recommendations of this committee were as follows: (a) That the schools should be supported entirely by the state and should be opened to all children, both rich and poor, on a perfect equality; (b) that infant classes be established in these schools. That is, kindergarten and primary classes should be opened for young children. (c) That children be given practical instruction in the sciences and in the various trades that they are likely to have to learn.

These principles are all familiar to us now; but in those days they were considered by many as radical innovations. Many well-to-do people said it was an attempt to level all classes of society by seizing the property of the rich through taxation and use it to elevate the masses out of their station. It was class legislation, they said.

Faith in Education

The idea of free, public schools made a very strong appeal to workingmen who were conscious of the handicaps that held their class down. In one of their numerous appeals on this subject, the workingmen of Philadelphia in 1830 said: "The main pillar of our system is general education; for it is an axiom, no longer controverted, that the stability of a republic depends mainly on its citizens." They appealed to workingmen of the whole state to establish "institutions where the children of the rich and the poor may meet at a time in their lives when pomp and circumstance of life have not engendered pride in their minds. . . . Our main object is to secure the benefits of education to those who would otherwise be destitute of them, and to place them mentally on a level with the most favored in the world's gifts. . . ."

"Let us bear in mind," they said, "that in obtaining an equal system of education, we will rid ourselves of every existing evil. Let us dispel the objections against sending children to public schools. The thought that it is disreputable should not for a moment be allowed to enter our minds."

At the same time the workingmen of New York were carrying on an agitation for public schools. In one of their resolutions, they said, "Let us strike at ignorance; for here lies the root of all evil. Let us strike at ignorance, and we strike at the root and fell the whole tree of aristocracy. Let us have knowledge; and having this and knowing our rights, all our wants, and how to obtain them, no power on earth can withhold them from us."

The Labor Press

During the time when labor was carrying on a great agitation for its rights it had numerous newspapers in circulation. There were over forty papers that were either supported by labor outright or were friendly to it. Perhaps the best examples of these were the MECHANICS' FREE PRESS of Philadelphia, and the WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE of New York. Most of the journals were short-lived, lasting from about 1829 to 1836; but as long as they lasted they were excellent champions of labor's cause.

The political and social agitation of labor was general throughout the country. Echoes of it were heard even in the south. But the student is disappointed to find that it was, in a way, a temporary movement. It secured a measure of success. Some of labor's candidates were elected to the different legislatures. But by 1836 the strictly labor parties had subsided, and most of the labor newspapers had died because of lack of interest.

Division in the Ranks of Labor

One of the causes of this lapse in the political movement was the division between the radicals and the conservatives. It is true that there were few extreme radicals among the bonafide labor leaders; but the enemies of labor seized the opportunity to slander the whole labor movement in the eyes of the "respectable" and the timid by identifying the labor movement with all communistic and socialistic movements of the time. Even the subject of religion was injected to discredit the labor movement. Certain free thinkers were at that time attacking the old orthodox religious prejudices. These people were denounced as atheists, a word that sounded extremely frightful in those days. Certain newspapers classed the progressive labor leaders with these "atheists"; and in vain did the workers disclaim any interest in the religious question or socialism. The slander had its effect.

However, dissensions in the ranks of labor were not the only cause of the dying down of the political agitation. The great panic of 1837 was discouraging. The educational and the political programs seemed slow means to an end; and labor, after recovering from the panic, took renewed interest in the union economic organization.

NOTE: *This particularly interesting statement might well be re-read. Any questions can be sent to* LABOR AGE.

Editor.

Habits of Industry

Psychology Gives Lie to Prison Labor Exploiters

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

THE prison labor contractors and all who share in their spoils justify the existing systems of convict labor by insisting that the exploitation of convict labor serves the purpose of "training prisoners in habits of industry" and gives them wholesome respect for labor. But the most superficial study of the subject proves that the "hard labor" administered in prisons does not give sound intelligent training in useful labor, and that chattel slavery under the vicious "task" system does not teach habits of industry.

The whole theory that labor is a curse and a suitable method of punishment is not only a vicious attitude of mind and an insult to all who do useful labor, but it also contradicts the theory that habits of industry are laudable, or that labor should command wholesome respect. Why should any one habitually do anything that in itself is a curse, and why respect anything that is administered as a badge of shame? Why take pride in anything that is a legitimate punishment for wrong doing?

The theory that labor is a curse and creative work a punishment is as stupid and illogical as everything else connected with our penal system. To labor and create, to work and produce is the very basic law of life. The human being who creates lives physically, mentally and spiritually; grows into real human maturity and achieves genuine happiness to the extent that he serves himself, his loved ones and society. The idler, the parasite and the human leech who live by taking and gives nothing of value in return; who live by robbing others of the fruit of their toil are always undergoing a slow process of decay and death.

Normal, natural labor under sane conditions and fairly paid is not a punishment. It is life. But labor under prison conditions is death to the body, decay to the mind and damnation to the soul. Recent developments in modern psychology seem to be proving that there are three great urges whose normal expression and gratification make all human progress possible, and whose repression and violation make for human degeneracy.

The first great urge is for food, which includes all physical comforts. The second is for mental expansion which embraces all that we call education and culture, and the third is the urge for love which includes all of our emotional life from the most elemental sex attraction to the highest form of religious expression. There is another urge vitally important, but of which psychologists have said little, possibly because none of them have suffered its ruthless repression. The urge for freedom of action.

Convicts Always Hungry

Our prisons violate all of these normal human urges. Convicts are always hungry. Physically hungry because they are chronically underfed, mentally starved because of the stagnation of their lives and emotionally hungry because they are shut away from all normal human relations. Prisoners are not only always hungry but they are also prevented from earning food by their labor and constantly embittered because they know that they are robbed of the food for which the taxpayers pay by political corruption. And no citizen can escape the responsibility for the fact that we permit hundreds of thousands of human beings to be starved into a state of animal-like ferocity, while at the same time they are producing enormous wealth for private interests.

The mental stagnation of prison life has a tendency to deaden and distort everything that is necessary to make the character of a useful citizen and a wholesome human being. The work that prisoners are compelled to do is monotonous beyond expression, the same weary grind day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year. Stitching the same endless seams, making the same monotonous motions, watching the pile of unfinished work melt away on one end of the machine, and the pile of finished garments carried away from the other, and with absolutely nothing in return for the weary hours of grinding toil. And when the day's work is done there is nothing but the grimy, gloomy, fetid steel-barred cell barren of everything that make a shelter habitable, and four walls a home. The endless monotonous meals of decayed and filthy food served in the rancid stench of the mess-hall and eaten in dumb silence. Behind the walls there is nothing of education, enlightenment or culture; nothing of music, art, literature; nothing that broadens and expands the mind, and everything that

deadens, degenerates and decays whatever intellectual endowment the prisoner took to prison with him.

Slavery and Prison-Made Garments

Every normal human urge for love, companionship, fellowship and affection is ruthlessly crushed. Kindness, love and laughter are as brutally punished as the failure to make the "task," and even the most fundamental human expression of conversation and communication between fellow convicts are denied and the rule of eternal silence enforced by the most drastic punishments. The abnormal of normal contacts between the sexes breed and foster the most terrible perversions and degeneracies.

And in addition to all of these stupidities, prisoners are presumed to be taught habits of industry and respect for labor by the most brutal forms of chattel slavery. Maxim Gorky, in his story of Russian working class life, MOTHER, draws a vivid picture of the mental and moral effects of slavish labor that should be read by every judge before he pronounces a sentence of "hard labor" and by every American citizen before he purchases a prison-made garment. He says:

"In the evening when the sun is setting and the red rays languidly glimmered upon the windows of the houses, the factory ejected its people like burned-out ashes. . . . The servitude of hard toil was over for the day. The day had been swallowed up by the factory; the machines had sucked as much out of men's muscles, as much of vigor as they needed. The day had been blotted from life, not a trace was left. . . . The accumulated exhaustion of years robbed them of their appetites, and unable to eat they drank long and deep, goading on their stomachs with burning vodka. Exhausted with toil they drank long and deeply, and in every heart there awoke and grew an incomprehensible, sickly irritation. It demanded an outlet. Clutching tenaciously at every pretext for unloading themselves of disquieting emotions, they fell upon each other for trifles and with the spiteful ferocity of beasts, breaking into bloody quarrels which often ended seriously in injury, or even sometimes in murder. This lurking malice increased, inevitable, inveterate as the incurable weariness of their bodies. They were born with this disease of the soul inherited from their fathers. Like a black shadow it had accompanied them from the cradle to the grave, spurring on their lives to crimes hideous in their aimless cruelty and barbarity."

The Vampire of the "Task"

Our prison workshops are full of men and women sucked dry by the vampire of the "task" and underfeeding, and they cannot be trained to useful labor under such conditions. In all the thousands of years that human slavery existed it never produced an efficient or industrious working class, and slavery passed off the human stage because it was less productive, less able to feed and clothe and shelter the race than labor that received some recompense. And to the extent that the working class has been able to reap the fruits of its toil it has made progress and become more efficient and richly productive. No harried, driven slave of the "task" is ever going to be trained in habits of industry, and no man who is systematically robbed of the fruits of his labor is going to develop respect and appreciation for creative work.

If every merchant would refuse to distribute prison-made goods, and make sure that he is not tricked and duped by handling only goods that bear the union label, and if every decent American citizen would refuse to patronize the merchant who is not willing to insure him against prison-made products the prison labor contractors could be driven out of the prisons in less than six months. And our penal institutions might be transformed into clinics and hospitals where sick bodies, brains and souls might be healed, and where ignorant and unskilled prisoners might learn habits of industry by working under the best possible conditions, and learn to love and respect labor because labor gave more happiness and comfort than vice and crime.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND WORKERS' CONTROL

(*Continued from page ii*)

morale, that make them less able to be misled by employers' dope, and more confirmed in unionism

Brother Creech testifies further to what practical workers' education has accomplished for the Philadelphia upholstery weavers. They have learned how to win concessions with the minimum of effort—because they understand their industry. They no longer act on half-baked information. They know the condition of their industry, how it is run, the profits it makes off each yard of product—and the employers know they know.

It is to this pragmatic method of workers' education that LABOR AGE is particularly dedicated—for from it will come better wages and hours, and from it will finally come, also, further and further workers' control. Efforts for wages and hours, or for control, based on misinformation, will only lead to disaster. Hence, once more, Workers' Education.

It is our job—the reason for our existence—to quicken the interest in this education.

Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

LA FOLLETTE MEMORIAL

ORGANIZED LABOR knows of the fight which "Bob" La Follette made for its principles and legislative measures. Nothing would be more fitting than that the service of this staunch champion of the workers' cause should be remembered in a definite and effective way, that will keep alive some of the ideals for which he strove. One thing that might be done would be the establishment of a chair for the study of Labor's attitude toward political action, from a non-dogmatic viewpoint, at Brookwood. Other suggestions might occur—but LABOR AGE *hopes that some movement of that sort will be set on foot before many months have passed.*

UNION LABOR INSURANCE

THAT habit is contagious. Union Labor has made a discovery: It can run enterprises as well as can the individual private profit seeker. Ergo: it is setting about to run them, when and where it finds opportunity.

Naturally, the international unions or a group of international unions are the most effective mediums through which to conduct these enterprises. Through years of experience, these big organizations have learned how to handle large sums of money; they have established various sick and death benefit schemes and carried them out successfully; they have built up staffs that understand the management of ambitious undertakings.

It was only a brief time ago that the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers announced their entry into the insurance business. Now, the American Federation of Labor itself enters that field. Matthew Woll, President of the Photo-Engravers Union, is at the head of the new undertaking.

The company to be formed will be incorporated, in all probability, under the laws of Maryland, with its home office in Washington. It will be officered by officials of Organized Labor assisted by a corps of experts—to handle the professional details of the business.

Thousands of dollars will be saved the wage-workers of the country—not through a cut in premiums but in the dividends which will accrue on their policies. That is the sound method on which to conduct competition with the private companies. Union Labor can make these dividends much larger than the private organizations, because of the great overhead expense saved by using the machinery of the international union offices for insurance business—offices already equipped for that purpose, to a large degree.

The employers have been offering the workers during the past few years bait of all sorts, to break with unionism—including reduced insurance through group underwriting. Organized Labor will now go them one better. A member of American Organized Labor will hereafter not merely know that he has secured his independence as a man, that he can state his grievances without punishment; but also, that he is as well and better protected in other ways than the welfare schemes of the employers allow. That is increasingly the goal toward which Organized Labor is moving.

A NON-PARTISAN POLICY

MUCH rejoicing has been manifested in the Business Press at the re-statement of the American Federation of Labor in favor of its non-partisan political policy. That reference to the discouragement of "third party" movements has been particularly gloated over; the Movement being represented as stupid in its endorsement of La Follette and Wheeler and now recognizing how infantile it was to take such a course.

With all due modesty, we are certain that such rejoicings are a bit premature. The non-partisan policy of the Federation evolved as far as the "personal and nonpartisan" endorsement of the two Senators in the 1924 election. It can easily evolve farther in the future, when the opportune time arrives.

The American Federation of Labor is purely pragmatic in its program. It is looking for "results." Whether mistaken or not in going after them,

they are its immediate purpose and reason for existence. We are by no means certain that the A. F. of L. leadership intends forever and aye to tie itself up with the rotten Republican and Democratic parties—both of which were controlled by Wall Street at the last election. It is merely skirmishing for representation in Congress to back up and carry through Labor's immediately needed demands.

When the proper time comes, Labor can again unite—as it did before—in support of independent candidates, probably at that hour the candidates of a Labor Party. It is not to be supposed that the Business Interests will allow the two old parties to get away from them, now that they are safely tucked away in Wall Street's hip pocket. They have every reason to feel pleased at the outcome thus far. The Klan issue is by no means dead, and will rear its head in the next Democratic convention—a happy means by which Big Business can again enter and take firm command.

The American Federation of Labor will not feel called upon, in that future hour of crisis, any more than in 1924, to endorse candidates or parties diametrically opposed to the interests of American wage-workers.

FAMILIAR SCENERY CONTINUES

This will remind you that West Virginia miners still are fighting to be free. Little of their grim effort to win—against Greed and Want—is recited in the daily press. The camp and the barb wire and the other "scenery" of Industrial War continue in the State of Blood and Slavery. The spirit of John Brown persists—among the Red Necks of the union.

ENJOINING THE INJUNCTION

ILLINOIS may be called the "Sucker State"—but "suckers" live not there.

The injunction is the appendix of Autocracy from the old English Common Law, which England has long got rid of in labor disputes. Now, "Illinois has placed a curb on its injunction judges," in the words of Victor Olander, Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

At the last session of the Legislature a bill was passed providing that "no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this state, or by the judge or judges thereof in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment" where peaceable methods and lack of intimidation are in effect. The provisions in regard to the peaceable character of picketing and concerning threats and intimidation may yet be the Achilles' heel of the law. Judges can easily see "threats" where there are none, and "violence" by the workers when it is only the work of the employers and thier agents. But a beginning has been made against the injunction—and the law can be amended later. It is an improvement, at least, on the provisions of the Clayton Act, which included the word "lawfully," and thereby made the law vague and almost meaningless.

The Supreme Court of the state has sprung another surprise by coming out for free speech in a recent decision. A striker at Streator, Ill., had called a "scab," a "traitor" to his group. Gentlemanly as this language was, the employers were aggrieved by it, and held that it constituted a violation of their rights and a violation of an injunction obtained against the strikers. The court held that the rights of free speech come first, and that equity could not be appealed to in cases of this sort. When did we last hear American courts speak thusly?

IN OTHER LANDS

COMING TO AMERICA

BRITISH Labor's "political wing" is sending messengers of good will to the United States. Led by Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party and internationally known trade unionist, a number of Labor Members of Parliament will hie themselves to our hospitable shores this year. No augury of international peace and understanding could be greater than the visit to America of the representatives of the future Masters of Britain.

THE VICTORY OF "RED FRIDAY"

The "British Revolution" Gets Under Way

FOR the last few weeks a new word has been on the lips of conservative British trade unionists. It has been the word "Revolution." Just what it means, nobody cared to say. But it was uttered not merely in private, but in the public press on several occasions.

It all grew out of the Mining Crisis. This is but an acute development of the whole messed-up industrial condition of Britain at the present hour. Since "Black Friday" of four years ago—when the Triple Alliance failed—the miners have been existing on less than a living wage. Unemployment had made their lot still more miserable—one of the blessings of the much-touted Dawes Plan. The German miners, laboring under slave-like wages, have cut into the British coal market, with dire results.

The operators' remedy for the situation was another wage cut. This was proposed for July 31st. The contract with the men then expired. All Britain became agitated as the fatal hour for a break drew near. A mere Miners' Strike was one thing; a Miners' Strike plus solidarity of the other big unions was another. It was the renewal of the Triple Alliance under a new form that frightened the wits out of the Interests of the country. This time the alliance bid fare to be permanent and to hold its lines. When the Miners, Railwaymen, Transport Workers and the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades got down to the business of clearing the decks for action, there was no recourse for the Powers that Be but prompt action to avert a crisis.

This came on Friday, July 31st—"Red Friday" as it is now being called.

Baldwin then capitulated. He decided upon his pet idea of a subsidy for the Mining Industry. It will run for eight months. It will mean, in the rough, the expenditure of $50,000,000. The operators withdrew their lockout notices for two weeks while the plan could be worked out.

The British business press sees the handwriting on the wall. A subsidy to industry is only next door to nationalization. So they wail. A subsidy can scarcely be permanent. After eight months, the old question will be up again. It cannot be answered by subsidies forever. "Nationalization" must be the outcome—and that is real "Revolution" in Tory eyes.

"Nationalization," the Miners hasten to say, does not indicate bureaucratic control. It must be accompanied by democratic management: governed by a "Mining Board representative of the technicians and the workers who know what mining is." This Board would be responsible to the Government, acting as trustees of the public property. "The men in each pit would be associated with the management."

Thus Labor looks forward to a great change—the opening door to which was the halt to the wage cut of 1925. The new solidarity of the four big unions gives promise that that change will not be cut short.

GERMANY DEBATES INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

THEY'RE at it again. Those Germans like to go to the heart of things and debate it to the finish.

It is a long time since Industrial Unionism first appeared as a question for discussion in the German Labor World. In 1892 the very first Trade Union Congress decided upon that form of organization as the goal to be aimed at—to meet the similar development of the industries in which the workers labored. Amalgamation of unions immediately began—the wood workers and metal workers furnishing conspicuous examples of thorough industrial organization, similar to our own United Mine Workers.

Leipsig and 1922 saw a Commission appointed by the Trade Union Congress of that place and year

to draw up a scheme for the formation of industrial unions. That commission, delayed in its work by the post-war problems of German Labor, will now submit its findings to the Breslau Congress of this year.

Debating is not yet at an end. The question is not: Shall we have industrial unions? It is: How shall they be organized? The battle will be over these alternatives: Should the industrial unions imitate the horizontal organization of the industrial concerns, and include all the workers in the same branch of industry? Or, should they be arranged on a vertical basis, and a union developed for all undertakings which are concerned in the various stages of production, from the raw material to the finished product?

The majority of opinion seems to favor the first idea. But the general view is, that any form of industrial unionism is better than the present method of organization—and a general advance in industrial unions is prophesied by the International Federation of Trade Unions, for the German bodies. At any rate, we shall see what we shall see.

THAT SOCIALIST ADVANCE

YOU must blame part of it on Abd-el-Krim and his Riffs. He has been doing some "rough stuff" in Morocco—and indirectly in "La Belle France" too. It is hard to raise any amount of violent enthusiasm among a people over a tiresome, inglorious colonial war. The frugal French soul is deeply shocked at the expense—and there is not so much return from it either, as the ever-present British have swallowed most of the best natural resources of that rocky colony.

The second ballot in the French local elections, which determines the personnel of the Senate next year, has shown the feelings of the thrifty peasants on this and kindred subjects. The Socialists have gained and gained and gained. Parliament next year will behold them in a position very near that of control. Then, they may decide to form a Cabinet of their own—as that has been their goal in refusing to fuse with any other groups. Herriot, although still a member of the Radical Party and therefore of the party of Painleve and Caillaux, is moving toward some alliance with the victorious Socialists. With them he is closely in sympathy, particularly on their Capital Levy policy, which Caillaux himself spurns.

For the nation which worships "glory" to travel toward the Left seems almost a miracle. No less surprising things have occurred in Belgium and Holland. In the latter, queen-ruled country, the Socialists have just made decided gains. In the former—"the martyr nation"—the Socialists have also forged ahead, with an impasse resulting over a Premier. No party has had enough votes in Parliament to take control of the government. Now, the peculiar arrangement is witnessed, of a Left Clerical as Premier with a Cabinet composed almost wholly of Socialists. In Belgium, it must be known, the Clerical Party is not as advanced as in neighboring Germany. The Christian unions have taken advantage of the situation to make new wage demands—which leads the International Federation of Trade Unions to remark that those unions evidently place more faith in a Socialist or semi-Socialist government than in one of their own party. The new line-up probably indicates a permanent division in the Clerical Party—gradually amounting to an approach to the Socialists, such as has recently been seen in Deutschland.

In Denmark, the Socialist Premier still holds sway—and the workers by their victorious general strike have demonstrated that their unions are beginning to recover from the long night of Reaction.

WORKERS STIR—AMID ODD ENVIRONMENT

Yes, the Oriental worker is "coming to"—not only in Shanghai, but in Bombay and up and down Asia. In odd environments, such as these, he is raising his head—to demand something new. Western Labor has a big stake in his full awakening.

WON: A GENERAL STRIKE

REACTIONARIES the world over have good cause for wonderment.

Everything has been set to keep their seats, above the heads of Labor, firm-rooted and secure. No alarums seemed to threaten the European horizon.

From lowly Denmark—almost forgotten—came the shock that told the heavy-headed Autocrats that their day will not last forever. The Danes are a people of peoples, small in numbers as they are. They have a Labor Government, politically. They have developed farm co-operation as no other state has done. Now, they show the militant spirit of their workers in winning a general strike, in this day of Dawesian Darkness.

When, on March 18th of this year, the Danish employing interests locked out 42,000 men in the "general trades," they thought it but a small gesture that would easily bring the men to their knees. So had the wagecut tactics run in all the continental countries. Slash, slash, slash was the accepted rule in Europe.

But there were to be "added starters" in this event, that the employers knew not of. In April, 150,000 men laid down their tools because of dissatisfaction with the employers' plans in other industries. With half of the country's workers out in this great protest, the dockers and transport workers joined them in sympathetic walk-out in May and the seamen followed in June.

Then did international union solidarity assert itself. "Blackleg" labor was introduced on Danish ships and in the handling of Danish cargo. Well and good was that for the employers—until the boats left port. Imagine their surprise on finding that Danish cargoes could not land in Britain or other countries. The transport workers there refused to handle the stuff.

Painful as was surrender for the Danish Clinchfists, they had to come to it. On June 7th they ran up the white flag of defeat. International Looterdom pinched itself to see if it were awake. "That thing may be repeated in some other larger land, don't you know! And we, the Looters, may be looking for havens of exile yet, with William of Doorn and the diseased Manuel of Portugal." It's not the most comforting of news for Banks and Big Business just now, as you may surmise.

"BOLSHEVIZATION" OF THE BOLSHEVIKI

FROM out of Moscow there has come the decree: the world must be "Bolshevized." And in order to speed that process to its end, the Communist Parties everywhere must be "Bolshevized," most of all.

With the zeal of the Inquisitors of old, "deviations to the right" are to be exterminated by excommunication.

A letter from the Executive Committee of the Comintern—the official ruling body of Communists over the world—to the Tenth Party Congress of the German Communists at Berlin (July 12th) lays down the laws of "Bolshevisation" in truly papal style. The letter, signed by Zinoviev, reminds the Germans to continue the war on "Brandlerism"—which "carries the traditional ideas of Social Democracy into the ranks of the Communist workers." In the same breath, the Party is urged to cure itself of the "ultra-left fever," represented in the "errors of Rosa Luxemburg."

"New" tactics are to be devised, in view of the Monarchist danger, which the Communists themselves aided to become real. A new approach is to be made to the rest of the workers. The task is "to find a new path to the heart of the Social Democratic and non-Party workers": to show them that the Communist Party is different than it used to be and that "it sincerely desires to co-operate with the Social Democratic workers."

The cry of "Fight for the Party" has now been changed to "Fight for the Comitern." That is the real kernel of the nut of "Bolshevization." "Bolshevization" means obedience, unto the end, to the Comintern. When it decides to change "tactics," the parties in the various countries must blindly change with it. In America, this has taken the form of the "Liquidation of Loreism," as the Communist Executive Committee puts it—the purging from the party of the "errors" expressed by Ludwig Lore of the New York VOLKZEITUNG—one of the earliest Communists in this country.

Word even comes that Lore and five associates have been expelled from the executive committee of the German-speaking Cummunist group in New York, although they represent the majority of that group. They have become "anathema" to all True Believers.

Objectively, the strength of Communism is its effort to gain a definite goal. Its great weakness is its Moslemic dogmatism and blind obedience to the "authority" of Moscow.

That sort of stuff does not make for Freedom.

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VARIOUS ADVANCED MOVEMENTS

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

IN THE NEW LEADER recently, H. N. Brailsford remarked: "Socialism seems to me in nothing more superior . . . than in its realization of the importance of happiness, and that not only does man not live by bread, but he does not live by reason, alone."

Humaneness

A movement seemingly far removed from the economic battlefront is that of humanity to the animal kingdom. But the spirit of good will is one, whether we apply it to our fellow men or to those below us in the scale of evolution. Jeremeny Bentham, the first to introduce into Parliament the principle that the justification of any practical measure is that it promotes the happiness of the greatest number said:

"We have begun by attending to the condition of slaves; we shall finish by softening that of all the animals which assist our labor or supply our wants."

He saw that we can't divide living creatures into those worth helping and those too lowly to be worth it. To try to do that destroys *all* democracy and solidarity.

Abstinences

In reply to my last notes on "Various advanced movements," one correspondent replied that he coudn't see what alcohol or tobacco "had to do with idealism."

Well, the only kind of idealism that I, personally, have any use for, is that which wishes to get busy at making this world a better place for us all to live in. If it were an easy job to do that, it would have been done long ago. If muddled brains, inefficient action, and public apathy could build up a strong labor movement, we should have little to fear from capitalism.

The labor movement, like every other progressive cause, needs clear thinking. The minds of its members should be undoped by alcohol, nicotine, or any other drug. The true radical must "hope that the spirit and intelligence of man will find a more dependable and rational means of attaining happiness and life adjustment than that of simply buying a drink." (E. L. Fisk.)

"Tobacco does not . . . nor never will produce comfort. It simply allays discomfort produced by its previous use" (No Tobacco Journal). Meanwhile, it turns away from any deeper reaching efforts for the comfort of the masses, many minds who still claim to be "radical."

To serve the labor movement, moreover, demands the development of self sacrifice. But that a man or woman should be dependent on his cigarette "like a baby with a comforter" is "an ugly example of self indulgence." It's not the attitude which a fighting movement can afford to develop.

Prevention of Conception

Besides drugging, there's another means whereby the profiteering principle in society lowers the vitality of the masses; namely by overcrowding. Fighting spirit such as labor needs requires vitality; the advantages of education and good home discipline are needed too. The crowded slum prevents all of these, and so weakens labor in its very struggle for economic betterment. An English birth control magazine says:

"How one would like to take one of those canting, equivocating humbugs who . . . condemn birth control as harmful to the state . . . through any slum . . . Behind the closeways and across the yard at the back, they would find a turnpike stair leading up to several floors. Each room on each landing a dilapidated hovel—a mere recess—housing an entire family. Possibly, in defiance of the sanitary authorities, it may be shared by two families. A room within which the entire furniture consists of a table and a bed, the latter providing sleeping accommodation for adults and children alike, irrespective of sex. Half naked children with hungry wan faces and that terrible young-old expression in their eyes. . . . The careworn mother with a chlid at her breast and the ghastly knowledge that yet another addition to the already overpopulated room is imminent. Denied food and denied sunlight, rickets seizes upon these poor little waifs, and like the pale weedy grass that grows beneath a stone, those wilted specimens of childhood struggle to exist—unwanted and uncared for."—(*New Generation.*)

No wonder such conditions breed scabs and blacklegs.

Industrial Democracy

Evil things run in vicious circles—indulgence leads to poverty, poverty results in ignorance and hence to over-multiplication, which checks the efforts to get out of poverty individually or collectively. And that poverty leads again to indulgence is well known. But a psycho-analyst's experience as to the forging of this link in the chain may interest you. Otto Pfister finds:

"Badly nourished children and children with few pleasures, are apt to display a very sweet tooth; and when they grow up this is often transformed into a craving for alcohol. These pleasures of the senses are to provide substitutes for the lack of other joys. But we must not unduly simplify the problem of alcoholism. The desire to drown affliction and to escape into a world of dreams plays a notable part."

Rationalism

But are all stimulants and narcotics of a physical nature? Many organizations today, frequently well financed by those to whose interest it is, to keep the workers contented with the station to which it has pleased God to appoint them, are trying to bring the workers back to the churches. "It is other worldliness that can alone transform the world," Dean Inge of the Anglican Church lately told those who are trying to make better conditions here below. J. T. Lloyd, in THE FREETHINKER, answered him: "In the early Church and during the middle ages, other worldliness loomed stupendously large, but . . . so far was it from transforming this world into a happier place to live in, that it undoubtedly contributed, on an alarming scale towards making it worse. Such a result was logically and morally inevitable, because other worldliness of necessity involves the concentration of time, affection and energy upon the alleged realities of a hypothetical heaven, which concentration is bound to weaken attachment to and concern for this world; . . . and it was on that score alone that the apostles justified it."

In summary; the man truly devoted to labor will keep his sympathies as broad as creation and his body and mind in training like the training of the athlete, and with the knowledge that only a sham kind of happiness comes of either nicotine or theology.

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